UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

The Lambeth Conference

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

A Vision and a Method for Achieving the Co-operative Commonwealth

By Mrs. JAMES P. WARBASSE

The Hunger Strikers

By ANGELA MORGAN

Books About the Orient

By FREDERICK STARR

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EDITORS
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
FRANCIS NEILSON

ASSISTANT EDITOR
EDITH LLOYD JONES

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EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS
Charles E. Beals
Harry Foster Burns
Charles W. Casson
George Willis Cooke
Percy M. Dawson
Frank C. Doan
Charles F. Dole
James Waldo Fawcett
Zona Gale
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Susan M. Quackenbush
Frederick Starr
Jabez T. Sunderland
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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXXVI THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4 NUMBER 7

WE BREAK NEW SEAS TO-DAY.

We break new seas to-day—
Our eager keels quest unaccustomed waters,
And, from the vast uncharted waste in front,
The mystic circles leap
To greet our prows with mightiest possibilities;
Bringing to us—what?
Dread shoals and shifting banks?
And calms and storms?
And clouds and biting gales?
And wreck and loss?
And valiant fighting times?
And, maybe, Death!—and so, the Larger Life!

And, maybe, Life—Life on a bounding tide,
And chance of glorious deeds:
Of help swift-borne to drowning mariners;
Of cheer to ships dismasted in the gale;
Of succor given unasked and joyfully;
Of mighty service to all needy souls.

And, maybe, Golden Days,
Full freighted with delight!
And wide, free seas of unimagined bliss,
And Treasure Isles, and Kingdoms to be won,
And Undiscovered Countries, and New Kin.

—*John Oxenham.*

The election is over, and as we look back upon its inanities and futilities, and see what manner of man has been elected we marvel at the inconsequence of it all. The marching of twenty-five million citizens to the polls on a single day is an impressive spectacle; but the thing accomplished, when viewed from the standpoint of the world situation, is as the blowing of empty bubbles. The historian of the future will not even mention the presidential campaign of 1920, save as marking the end of the Woodrow Wilson regime. Not by such events, however impressive as sheer spectacle, are the destinies of this terrific age determined. The things that count today are not a sham battle between two third-rate representatives of reactionary and outworn political machines, but the progress of the revolution in Russia, the uprising of the factory workers in Italy, the miners' strike in England, the martyrdom of the Irish people. Indeed, the more one looks upon the field of politics in this country and in Europe alike, the more it bears resemblance to a baseball field after the season is over and the crowd has gone. Is it true that this period in modern history is to be known as the time which marked the transfer of organized social action from the political to the economic field? Who can say? Certainly, the electoral spectacle recently witnessed in this country, again gives the traditional constitutionalist but cold comfort.

Mayor MacSwiney is dead! The stirring lines of Angela Morgan written in tribute to "the hunger striker" Michael Fitzgerald, apply with added emphasis to this heroic martyr to Ireland's struggle for self-dependence. Opinions may differ as to the rationale of the hunger strike as a weapon of protest; but there can be but one opinion as to the perfect heroism of the man who deliberately holds out his hand to death, and invites, through long weeks of tortured waiting, her solemn coming. MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, now takes his place on that august roll of Irish saints, which ranks among the noblest records of human history! It is improbable that his death will make much impression upon the general situation in England and Ireland. The temper of the public mind in the former country has reached a depth of cruel indifference, and in the latter country a height of tragic intensity which seem quite beyond the reach of even so heroic an act as the marytrdom just consummated in Brixton. It is this which gives the final touch of pathos to what Mayor MacSwiney has done. But not in vain has such a man lived and now died. All true souls everywhere breathe deeper and feel stronger at the contemplation of such a deed. It is as though wings were suddenly given to us to soar to heights of vision unattained before. To the dead, we give our salutation; and to the living, for whom he died, we give our prayers for a speedy winning of the emancipation that must some day come.

The remarkable articles recently published by Norman Hapgood in the Hearst newspapers, describing his visit to the federal prison at Atlanta, serve to remind us that a great and good man named Eugene Debs is still behind the bars. Mr. Hapgood, nobly true to his ideals of liberty in America, tells us that he left the prison, after talking with Mr. Debs, with a heart

heavy that this persecution of a rare spirit, so courageous and so good, should come to pass in my country, in the full light of the twentieth century;

and lamenting that there was no Zola to do Debs justice,

to awaken the country until it cared to insist that the persecution of him end.

In thus referring to the acquiescence of American public opinion in the continued imprisonment of Mr. Debs, Mr. Hapgood lays his finger upon what is the most tragic aspect of this whole tragic business. The administration is not to be excused. Attorney-General Palmer cannot be too sharply condemned. But the real guilt, after all, lies at the door of the citi-

zenry of America. Mr. Hapgood is right when he says that

> if we had any public opinion in this country, no administration could keep Eugene Debs in prison a week. The administration is nothing. Public opinion is everything.

It is when one sees such facts as this that one is tempted to despair of the American people. For all our boasting, we do not believe in freedom; or, if we believe in it, we do not know what freedom is.

Every day that passes brings news from various parts of the country of the closing down of mills and factories, and the return to idleness of thousands upon thousands of workers. The long anticipated slump in business has come, and the awesome prospect of unemployment is before us. We wonder, as we contemplate this deliberate suspension of manufacturing at the fiat of employers, what has become of that cry, "Produce, Produce!" which was dinned into our ears so insistently a year or so ago. During that vexed period, when prices were steadily mounting, and labor troubles were everywhere multiplying, we were told that increased production was the sole solution of our problem. Labor must work —work faster and longer regardless of all standards of wages and conditions of employment— if society was to be saved from the utter demoralization of a business slump and a financial panic. Now, however, it is capital and not labor which is refusing to work; it is the employer and not the employe who is holding up production. And the keenest ear cannot catch even so much as a peep about this business of producing! It makes a difference, does it not, as to who is responsible for what is taking place? That production is necessary in a world that is struggling for the basic necessities of life, is, of course, an elementary proposition. That capital should cease production because it can no longer make profits large enough to satisfy its fattened cupidity, is a crime of the first order. It is a damning indictment not only of the efficiency but of the morality of our existing industrial system. But in the orthodox opinion of our day, capital can be guilty of no crime. Like the king of ancient days, it can do no wrong! It is only labor that is selfish, greedy, indifferent to the common good. What a travesty on justice that such things can be!

It is reported that fifty-seven Oxford professors have addressed an appeal to the scholars of Germany, asking for a resumption of those fraternal relations which were so profitably enjoyed by the savants of the two countries before the outbreak of the Great War. This is a heartening piece of news—and one more evidence of the sanity of Englishmen. That men of learning should ever be alienated from one another by the incidence of war is one of the things which demonstrates most conclusively the madness which follows in the wake of armed conflict. For in the world of knowledge, as in the world of art and music and religion, there can rightly be no barriers of nationality. Great scholars, as Romain Rolland declared so nobly in his controversy with Hauptmann in 1914, are essentially universal men, and therefore must be "above the battle" when country takes up arms against country. Few men there were, however, in the colleges and universities of any one of the belligerent nations who lived up to this ideal. There was Rolland in France, Nicolai in Germany, Bertrand Russell in England—but aside from these few lonely figures the leaders of learning went as mad as the wildest mob that ever swept a city gutter. The professors, next perhaps to the ministers of religion were the greatest disappointment and scandal of the War. As though by common agreement, they prostituted their knowledge, talents and position to sustaining the actions of government whether right or wrong, to spreading lying propaganda among the people, to fostering hatred, cruelty and lust. The famous "93" professors in Germany made perhaps the most extraordinary spectacle of themselves, but their spirit was not other than that of the professors of the Allied countries who, under the same conditions, would undoubtedly have done the same thing. It is a relief now to see this attempt at reconciliation, and no surprise to find it deprecated by such organs of black reaction as the New York *Times*.

It is painful to note the creaking and jolting of the machinery now in motion for the fitting observance of the voyage of the Pilgrims three hundred years ago. A prodigious effort is being made, both in this country and in England, but the wheels simply will not turn with any vim. Nor is the reason far to seek! These Pilgrims were independents, non-conformatists, in their own way and on their own peculiar theological issues, revolutionists. They were the "despised and rejected" of their time—in the highest degree, disreputable. The moderns who are monopolizing the observance of this tercentenary, *per contra,* are the respectable of this day. They conform religiously to every accepted standard of church and state. They would no more be heretical on any question of real importance than they would walk naked in the public streets. Spiritually they are the precise descendants of those who hated the Separatists and applauded King James when he harried them out of the land. The people who ought to be keeping this anniversary are those who, like the Pilgrims of old, are today dissenters from constituted authority. But these, alas, are too busy fleeing from our persecution, to think much of those who fled from the persecution of the tyrants before us. Be-

sides, even if they wanted to be heard, there is no room for them among the lordly celebrants of old and New England. It is only those who stone modern prophets, who are dowered with the right of building tombs to ancient ones.

Rev. Julius F. Krolfifer, in *The Christian Register,* points out that

"three hard facts challenge the church today. One of these facts," he continues, "is that thousands upon thousands of people pass it by, saying that it is nothing to them, though it claims to be indispensable to the life of society. Another hard fact is that this disrespectful attitude is propagating itself. The idea of reserving Sunday morning or evening for attendance at church is displaced by the idea that the people must have these times for other occupations and recreations. The third hard fact is that many members of the church do not care that the other two things are facts."

This is a searching and accurate analysis of the problem now confronting Protestantism. These facts have existed, with growing seriousness, for a period of years; and the churches have denied them, ignored them, or met them with mere reversions to old-time methods and ideas. Now the situation has come to the point where collapse of organized religion is a fourth fact to be added as a consequence to the other three. The one thing which will save the church in its present plight, says Mr. Krolfifer, is a new "form of work"—the church must "be such an organization as will call into service the ingenuity of its members for the wide ministry of human needs." But for this very purpose, something more fundamental still is needed. For the new work of service, there must be new organization, with the community and not the denomination as the basis. The community church, as we have so often reiterated in these columns, is the remedy.

An important religious movement described as "a religious revolt" is under way in Jugo-Slavia. The people are reported as up in arms against the Vatican, and carrying on a crusade which seems to hark back in spirit to the days of the Protestant Reformation. In commenting on the situation, *The Living Age* says,

Among the Croat clergy a movement has arisen similar to that which has been gaining headway for a considerable period among the Czeck clergy, harking back to the memory of John Huss. It is an anti-Rome and democratic movement which is growing in extent and depth with every passing day. A humble village priest, Stiepan Zagoratz, is advocating with growing success among the lower Catholic clergy the necessity of throwing off the aristocratic and anti-national yoke of Rome. He believes that the clergy should be chosen by their parishioners. . . . This program amounts to nothing less than secession from Rome and creation of a national church.

Here would seem to be an upspringing of a genuine form of primitive Protestantism coupled with a recognition of the new nationalistic ideals of the time. War has evidently weakened ecclesiastical as well as political autocracy. The Pope has condemned the movement as heretical but the reformers have universally voted to refuse obedience longer to the Vatican. The development of the movement will be awaited with keen interest by lovers of religious liberty everywhere.

The Lambeth Conference

We are surprised that more attention has not been paid by liberal religious journals in this country, to the proceedings and pronouncements of the Lambeth Conference of bishops, held in London during the summer just passed. It is probable that little was expected from this Conference; when two hundred and fifty-two bishops get together, the chances are all against anything significant or progressive being done. It is now evident, however, that this great meeting of church dignitaries was a marked exception to the rule; pessimistic anticipations were most certainly not realized. It can be said of the Conference what the bishops themselves say in their Encyclical Letter of one of the committees of the Conference—that "as their work proceeded, the members of it felt that they were being drawn by a Power greater than themselves." Whether this somewhat mystical explanation of the phenomenon be accepted or not, it nevertheless remains true that the Lambeth Conference accomplished remarkable things. It is somewhat trite to speak of any event as "marking an epoch"; but here is an event which is not inaccurately to be described by this perhaps over-familiar phrase.

The documents which record the doings and attest the spirit of the Conference are first the Encyclical Letter signed by the two hundred and fifty-two bishops, secondly the resolutions adopted, and thirdly the reports of special committees. These are contained in a volume of 161 pages issued in London on August 13th last. In *The Churchman* for September 4th the Letter is published in full, the resolutions are summarized, and a "manifesto" of the bishops on the subject of a reunited Christendom is reproduced.

What first strikes the reader of these proceedings of the Lambeth Conference is the evidence which they present of the complete shift of interest and emphasis in things religious which has taken place in recent years. Thus, theology, in the stricter meaning of that traditional phrase, is here conspicuous by its absence. There are various references, of course, to God as the Creator of the universe and the Father of mankind, to "our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ" as the well-spring of spiritual life, to "His Church" as "a new and greater Israel," to prayer as "the source of all our strength," to "the Sacrament of (Christ's) Body and Blood" as the symbol of sacrifice for men and "the way of fellowship" with men. But all these expressions impress one as phrases spoken from custom rather than from conviction, and as signifying precious memories rather than flaming hopes. What these bishops are plainly caring about is not theology

but life. There is nowhere intimation that men must believe, but everywhere instruction that they must do, certain things. These churchmen are by tradition theists, but in passion humanists. Their concern is for men, and the way of life in which men must set their feet.

Again these resolutions and pronunciamentos are almost exclusively devoted to the problems not of the next world but of this ever-present world of here and now. From time immemorial, the church has concerned itself with salvation for the life eternal, and not salvation in and for the life at hand. But these utterances of Lambeth are all directed at today and not tomorrow. There is talk, to be sure, of "this life" being "but the preliminary stage in an eternal progress." The Christian faith, says the Encyclical Letter, "bids us look forward from glory to glory." But all this is unmistakably incidental to the main point of the discussion, which is from beginning to end the life that now is. Our bishops seem at last, after all these centuries, to have recovered the idea of St. Paul, that "*now* are we the sons of God"; and that our business is to fulfil the divine possibilities of this earthly sonship, as the only adequate preparation for that "shall be" of the future which "doth not yet appear."

Still again, the old-time individualistic conception of religion has almost entirely disappeared from these documents, and in its place has come the new social conception of our time. Deeply impressive is the note struck at the very opening of the Letter, and nobly sustained throughout.

> "We find that one idea runs through all our work in this conference," begins the second paragraph. "It is an idea prevalent and potent throughout the world today. It is the idea of fellowship. The minds and the hearts of men already go out to this idea. To a world that craves for fellowship we present our message. The secret of life is fellowship. So men feel, and it is true. . . . Men today are tempted to despair of the world and to blame its design. But this at least we can say: the life of men upon earth was designed to give opportunities for love and nothing has defeated that design . . . This design (fellowship) is the clue to the labyrinth of life. We lose our ways in the maze whenever we let go this clue."

Here is an exalted statement of religion interpreted socially. Fellowship in the world and not salvation apart from the world, is here flatly stated as the secret of spiritual life. To see a conference of bishops thus proclaiming the message of socialized religion seems like an official canonization of such servants of the Kingdom as Josiah Strong, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Washington Gladden and Walter Rauschenbusch. These social prophets, lone heretics in their own day and generation, have indeed not lived in vain.

But this shift of emphasis from old to new, is not the only significant aspect of the Lambeth Conference. For not doctrine but program is the conspicuous feature of the Encyclical Letter and its accompanying documents. Straight out into the world of practical affairs, crowded with all "those things which must perplex us," go the minds of these earnest bishops. The sectarian divisions of Christendom, the position of women in "the fellowship of the Church," the vexing problems of "marriage and the family," "the relation of men one to another in industry" now concreted "in an internecine conflict between capital and labor," "the terrific challenge of international relations" —it is with such pressing issues of contemporary life as these, that this conference of bishops was concerned. There seem to be only a few survivals of the old-time topics of ecclesiastical debate and action —a discussion of "the church's treasures" is one! At last the officers and ministers of a great communion understand that the church has responsibility for the solving of the political, economic and social problems of the world; and that this responsibility must express itself in the formulation of definite programs for the world's relief. Here we have, therefore, an elaborate platform for the reunion of the divided and competitive branches of Protestantism, embodying numerous practical "suggestions for a common basis." Here is a laying down of definite principles of industrial reorganization which it is declared "the church must say to all concerned, employer and employed, director and workman, investor of money and investor of brain or muscle." Here also is a proclamation of international ideals, with definite proposals as to what the nations of the world must do in order to realize these ideals. These churchmen are no recluses, content to impose creeds and disciplines of soul upon individual men and women. They are spiritual statesmen, rising to great tasks of reconstruction in the world of human affairs. Unescapable is the atmosphere here of the medieval days when bishops spoke with kings, and taught to them God's laws as patterns for the laws of men.

If there must be criticism of the actions of this Lambeth Conference, reservations upon what we have here been saying, it must be in regard to the failure of the bishops to think their problems through, and apply those drastic remedies of change which all far-seeing men now clearly understand to be inevitable, if our problems are ever to be solved. Nothing could be finer, for example, than the appeal of the Encyclical Letter for the reunion of the scattered denominations of the Protestant world. Nothing could be sounder than the assertion that

> the unity which we seek is in God, who is the perfection of unity, the one Father, the one Lord, the one Spirit, who gives life to the one Body.

But it is disappointing to find God interpreted exclusively in terms of Christ, and religious unity therefore postulated as necessarily Christian unity. Similarly inadequate is the diagnosis of our industrial ills, and the remedies applied. It is simple superficiality to lay down "service to the community . . . goodwill . . . co-operation" as "fundamental principles," and

then dodge the whole issue by saying amiably that "beyond them lies the whole region of practical application," and that "in (this) technical side of economics . . . the Church has no authority." For it is just in this one "region of practical application" and on this one side of technical ways and means, that all the trouble and agony are found. As for the problem of internationalism, it is almost shocking to find the bishops all agreeing that the way out from war to peace is the League of Nations. They are careful, to be sure, to commend not the League itself, but "the principles which underlie" it; nevertheless, the League appears to them to be

the most promising and the most systematic attempt to advance towards the idea of the family of nations which has ever been projected.

It is a pity that a discussion of the peace question, in many ways rigorous as well as exalted, should come to no more constructive and hopeful conclusion than this.

The bishops plainly do not "follow through their stroke," to quote the language of the golf course. One wonders, indeed, what would happen if they did! Here in the summary of resolutions, for example, appears the statement that

the conference calls upon all members of the church to maintain the superiority of the claims of human life to those of property, and emphasizes the duty which is laid upon all Christians of setting human values above dividends and profits.

This is a principle, of course, which lays the axe at the root of the tree of capitalism. Unless these bishops have all of them suddenly become revolutionists, which is unlikely, they simply do not know or do not mean what they have said. The same thing would seem to be true of what is said in the Encyclical Letter about the relation of church and state.

"Each of us," runs the passage, "belongs by his birth to some one of the many nations of the world. But every Christian belongs by his second birth to one holy nation, which is God's own possession. When loyalty to his own nation comes into conflict with loyalty to that holy nation of which Christ is King, a Christian can have no doubt which loyalty must give way."

When was there ever a better vindication of conscientious objection to war than this? How could these bishops, thus believing that one's first loyalty is to Christ, have been so indifferent to the government's persecution of those who refused, in obedience to what they understood to be Christ's law, to take up arms? Will these bishops, in the next war, see to it that every pacifist is protected in his fidelity to spiritual ideals? Again we find ourselves unconvinced that the Lambeth churchmen knew what they were saying. This utterance in their conference Letter will prove embarrassing to them when the next war comes along and conscientious objectors are again dragged off to prison; but nothing could have been more embarrassing to them than the sayings of Jesus during the last war, and they faced these unashamed. For all their fine phrases when the war issue is not pressing, these bishops are not yet disciples of the non-resistant Nazarene. They simply know not what they say, and thus may be forgiven their insincerity.

Criticism of this kind, however, may well be regarded as ungracious; for these Lambeth papers are really remarkable documents. Emphasis is certainly to be laid not upon their shortcomings when viewed from the highest ethical and sociological standpoint, but upon their genuine achievement in terms of progressive idealism. If these letters and resolutions are typical, the organized church is not altogether without hope. It is going to be possible, perhaps, to salvage more of the existing establishment than we had imagined. We are still sceptical rather than hopeful. But we are frank to say that Lambeth has given us pause. From what would seem to be the most reactionary source in all the world—an assembly of two hundred and fifty-two bishops!—has come a recognition of the new world, and a summons to the church to meet the challenge and serve the needs of this new world. It is a brave sign—and we rejoice!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

THE HUNGER STRIKERS.

Terence MacSwiney—dead!
He wore no crown upon his head,
And where he walked with sacred feet
No blare of trumpets shook the street.
Yet through the night a splendor pours—
A flame that sears my heart and yours
From widely swung celestial doors
Where came the singing cherubim
And chariots of fire, for him!

Michael Fitzgerald—Christly soul!
A comet, streaming to its goal.
He died upon a prison cot
Because the world received him not.
O martyr spirits, blazing true,
The world shall rock because of you.
Thunder shall cleave this pit of pain,
The temple veil be rent in twain
For those whom tyranny hath slain.
Our hearts shall crown that saintly head . . .
Terence MacSwiney—not dead!

ANGELA MORGAN.

INDIAN SUMMER.

My miser hands would hold these golden days,
Yet cannot stay a single shining one
From fading into amethyst and rose
Along the western pathway of the sun.

I cannot hold one day. I stretch my arms
And withered leaves drop softly on my breast,
And on the bare elm branch above my head,
I see an empty, rocking oriole's nest.

—*Marion M. Boyd.*

Always Cosmos, never a sign of Chaos, never an atom fallen out of the All-ruling Hands; no chance anywhere, not even in the seeming riot of the storm! No "miracle" anywhere, no breaking of the law; but all a miracle more real by being law. Oneness everywhere—the laws that round the planets rounding the dewdrop, gravitation in the snowflake's flutter and in the rush of suns. And nothing little, nothing trifling—for all is full of God.—*W. C. Gannett.*

CONTRIBUTED

A Vision and a Method for Achieving the Co-operative Commonwealth

Across the length and breadth of our land we hear the call today for men and women to rise and work together to bring about a new world order. Whether we will it or not, this challenge arrests us. Those of us who heed the challenge may not agree with the program of the challenger; he may be an advocate of Communism, or a political revolutionist, or an exponent of the Soviets, a syndicalist, a guild socialist or a liberal reformer. We may all agree upon the goal we seek, the Co-operative Commonwealth, but some of us may choose to achieve it by other means—by means slower yet more sure than sudden revolution, by methods more tried than those of mass action, by measures more ethical and humane than force and violence. We may seek to achieve it by the democratic action of all of the people rather than by the dictatorship of the proletariat alone.

To meet one of the greatest economic crises of all history with a program of action that can be begun today, let us consider the Consumers' Co-operative Movement. Co-operation is not a new social theory, it is not an experiment. It is a supremely practical method of dealing with theories that are as old as human morals. It differs from most of the present economic programs and movements because *it has not only a vision, but also a method.* The vision that it holds is that of the new day when all the people shall be united to produce and distribute for service, not for private profit, the necessities as well as the comforts and luxuries of life. It seeks to replace the motive of individual gain by that of the welfare of the many. It believes that by mutual aid, not by struggle and cut-throat competition, shall the world progress. Many a person comes forward these days with a tale of what is wrong, and many another tells what should be done to make things better, the Co-operators not only *see* what is wrong and hold forth the goal, but *they also show us the steps to take to reach that goal.*

The method by which the vision of the Co-operative Commonwealth may be realized is the Rochdale method. The name Rochdale comes from a little town in England where seventy-five years ago, twenty-four poor weavers worked out those principles of self-help by which Co-operation is carried on today in every country in the world.

THE ROCHDALE METHOD

To begin with, a group of people who know each other, neighbors or members of some social or labor group, unite and (1) each subscribes for a number of shares, and so the society is capitalized. Shares are of a low denomination and may usually be bought in installments, so that membership is never prohibitive. In order to insure comparative equality, the number of shares that may be held by any one member is usually limited. (2) The organizing groups elect from their members a board of directors to conduct for them the affairs of the organization. (3) The board secures a site, a manager, employees, equipment, stock, etc. (4) A grocery is usually the first venture, although co-operative bakeries, laundries, restaurants, banks and housing enterprises may be launched in the beginning instead of a store. The object is to meet the greatest need of the group with the most economy and efficiency. Whatever the enterprise, however, the society is conducted along the following Rochdale principles. To follow them usually means success; to depart from them invites failure.

1. At the regular meeting of the society each member has one vote regardless of the number of shares held. This is quite different from profit-making stock companies, where a member with ten shares has ten votes, the shares of stock carrying the voting power. In Co-operative Societies, no matter how much money is invested in stock, each member has one vote. Not dollars, but human beings, vote in Co-operation. This insures democratic control of the group's capital and prevents domination by moneyed interests.

2. Capital receives not more than the fixed legal rate of interest. This too differs from private business, which assigns to invested capital all the profits that can possibly be squeezed from the producer and the consumer. Co-operation recognizes that capital is a working tool. Capital is necessary. So Co-operation pays capital its hire—a fixed interest, not more. There is no speculative use of capital in co-operation. It never becomes a power for evil.

3. Goods are sold at current retail prices, not at cost. The profits in Co-operative Societies are distributed to the members in proportion to their patronage, never in proportion to their shareholdings. The people who patronize the business make the profits possible by their trade. Their trade represents their human needs. In private business profits are divided according to amount of capital invested. Money makes money.

Following these methods of administration—methods quite novel in economic history—the store is conducted just as any other store. Goods are bought at wholesale, from a Co-operative Wholesale if possible, or perhaps from a Co-operative Farmers' organization. There is no waste of the middleman's profits or from expensive competitive salesmanship and advertising or from overstocking and expensive buying. The consumers in the society make known their needs; through their votes they can express their preferences or their disapproval of articles furnished. Since there is no private profit to be sought, the members have the assurance of quality. No one induces the consumer to purchase things de does not want. The clerks are there merely to serve the members. Much waste of time and of stock is eliminated.

THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE

As soon as sufficient reserve fund has accumulated from a portion of the profits, always set aside for expansion and development, societies join together to finance a central purchasing agency which later develops into a wholesale warehouse. In Co-operation, societies must work together just as must individuals. Isolation, self-centered development apart from others, does not make for growth in Co-operation. All this time, as the Co-operative store and the wholesale are growing and serving the members, they are learning how to meet the problems of business. They are training themselves to administer collective capital. Success of their organization depends entirely upon themselves, on their efficiency and their ability to meet the same problems that private business presents, but

more especially on their unselfish service in the interest of the whole group. It is remarkable how the mystery surrounding business begins to fade away with the knowledge and experience the people gain in these enterprises. As a result, a new confidence in themselves and a new confidence in the power of the people to run their own affairs develops.

When enough experience in administering the local stores and the local warehouses has been developed and when enough of a surplus has been accumulated to finance them, Co-operative factories are acquired. This is the next step in the production and distribution for the people's needs.

OTHER CO-OPERATIVE UNDERTAKINGS

Then comes the Co-operative administration of lines of transportation and the means of communication. At the same time that the stores, warehouses and factories are being developed, the people are proceeding to organize their own Co-operative homes, Co-operative banks, Co-operative medical care, recreation and education.

CO-OPERATIVE OWNERSHIP OF NATURAL RESOURCES AND LAND

The final and last step in the progress of Co-operation toward its goal is when the ownership of natural resources and of the land is achieved. When the tea that is raised on a Co-operative tea plantation of Ceylon is served to the British Co-operator as he sits in his little home made possible by the Co-operative Housing Society, with bread from his Co-operative Bakery and jam from the Co-operative Jam Factory, what a feeling of security and satisfaction he must have these days—for he knows that no economic waste nor privilege has tainted that cup of tea from the source of supply to the lips of the consumer. Milk farms, dairies, fruit orchards, currant, coffee and tea plantations, coal mines, palm olive groves, wheat fields, etc., steadily contribute their products to the factories, warehouses and stores of the Co-operators. This is an achievement made possible by the methods of organizing the consumers planned and marked out by those twenty-four weavers of Rochdale.

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

The International Co-operative Alliance brings together the societies of every country in its bond of fellowship. It promotes international Co-operative trade, seeking to develop the peace of the world by breaking down barriers of economic rivalry—so potent a cause of wars. The international Co-operative Alliance was the first to reunite in its Congress after the Great War delegates from both enemy and allied countries. At present it is working hard to develop greater Co-operative trading, believing that Co-operators in all nations, animated with the same motives and using the same methods, are the most effective agents to bring about an economic league of nations.

CO-OPERATION A GRADUAL PROCESS

All this takes time. There is no sudden change or violent upheaval brought about by Co-operation. Slowly, peacefully and without social shock Co-operation is training its own workers in the routine of actual service. Experience proves in Co-operation, as in any other permanent movement, that success cannot be achieved with a rush. Societies that are formed by a big "drive" and with little understanding grow up like weeds and like weeds perish for lack of deep roots and for lack of cultivation. The belief in Co-operation must be rooted deep in the hearts of men. The knowledge of the methods must be cultivated by patient study. The experience in Co-operation must be secured from daily work. Co-operators must stand up against all kinds of difficulties of merchandising, of marketing, of boycotts, of banking and credits and of knocks from within and without the movement. Co-operation cannot be achieved with a wave of the hand or a bit of oratory. Success comes from intelligent, loyal, painstaking efforts. This is the kind of Co-operative success that has grown and endured while political parties, platforms and promises pass and are forgotten.

CO-OPERATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Americans have been slower than almost any other nation to realize the value of Co-operation. There have been many natural reasons for this. Our people have until recently had the pioneer spirit. They have forged ahead individually trying to better their condition by moving from place to place seeking new fields of work rather than improving their condition right on the job. As John Graham Brooks so well puts it: "The very violence of our material prosperity, the extent and variety of unexhausted natural opportunity, with the habit thus engendered, have until recently made the economic modesties of the Co-operative movement seem rather ridiculous to us. The savings were so meager, the troubles so many. It is now certain, however, that in this country Co-operation is to have its first real chance."

The days of pioneer individualism have passed and the welfare and progress of most of us are linked up with the welfare of our neighbors. Within the last three years a marked increase in members and in interest has developed. Today there are at least three thousand Consumers' Co-operative Societies with over a million members doing a business of at least one hundred million dollars a year in addition to twelve thousand agricultural societies, Co-operative Consumers' grain elevators, packing plants and marketing associations, whose annual business amounts to many hundreds of millions. These, however, do not even make a dent in the vast profit-making business that still dominates our economic life.

The Co-operative League of America was recently organized to serve as the center of information and education on Co-operation. Until its founding four years ago, Co-operative Associations sprang up here and there and blossomed into being or faded away with no one to advise them on right or wrong methods, no one to point out the experiences that make for permanency and success, no one to warn them of the mistakes which lead to failure. The League not only gives this information through personal advisers, but prints literature and pamphlets, issues magazines and books on all aspects of Co-operation, selling them at cost to all who seek sound information. To those who are wise enough to base the new economic structure on the knowledge and the collective experience of others the League is a guide and counsellor.

Failure is easy, but no longer necessary. Success may be safely predicted if the members, directors and managers are loyal to the idea, well informed and follow the tested Rochdale methods. Co-operators need not experiment. The information is now available and societies are prospering in proportion to the efficiency of their bookkeeping system, to the real

democracy of their control and administration; to the closeness with which they are living up to Rochdale methods and ideals.

Does this method of bringing about the better day when special privilege is no more and when all the necessities of life shall be produced and distributed for service and not for profit, seem too slow? The Co-operative method will be the quickest in the end, because it is the surest. No new social order can be erected on a permanent basis unless it is based on a technique and an understanding of the means of its accomplishment. The people must be ready for the administration of the new system they create. It was easy enough for women to say, "give us the vote and we will bring about a better order of society." Nothing is easier than voting except talking. The hard thing is to carry out the program we vote for. Voting does not bring with it the experience needed to administer of the Co-operative commonwealth.

A popular slogan of the industrial revolutionists is "Workers of the world unite and take over the industries." But the mere act of uniting is not sufficient to assure the efficient systematic operation of the industries that the workers of the world would "take over." The old system might be over-thrown in a night, but by *merely* uniting in mass action next morning would they find a substitute ready made? No. Nothing but chaos and confusion. It is only by the fundamental process of training people in the schools of experience to wisely and unselfishly carry on their own co-operative undertakings that we can substitute a new world for the old. No permanent change can come faster than the people themselves are able to see it through.

Another fallacy of such a program is due to the fact that a vast number of the "workers of the world," the women home makers, have already taken over their "industry," though they have never united as an organized force. Although they are producers along lines of great human needs, they are not recognized among organized workers of the world. As Consumers, however, organized in the Co-operative Movement, their ideals and points of view can be represented. There, they may actively take their part in bringing about the needed economic changes in Society.

So it is in somewhat humble beginnings in this country today we find people carefully working out the principles and the methods which when universally applied will bring about the Co-operative Commonwealth. The Co-operative Movement is wholly constructive.

CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE

It is encouraging to know that the Co-operative movement is being carried along with magnitude as well as with zeal in other countries. In England one-third of the population are Co-operators. Their trade in 1919 amounted to about one billion dollars. The thirteen Co-operative Wholesale Warehouses distribute the products of sixty-five factories which make boots and shoes, cutlery, iron-ware, soap, tobacco, jams, pickles, bacon, cocoa, paints, brushes and brooms, flour, crackers and candy and even automobiles. The wheat that goes into the manufacture of flour is largely grown on the wholesale society's land in Canada and is transported to England in the society's own ships. The Co-operators own about thirty thousand acres of fruit and pasture land in England. Their policy is said to be to buy up every acre of tillable land offered for sale in England and place it in use for producing fruit, vegetables and dairy products for the consumers.

The membership of this great body of consumers is largely from the wage-earning class and it is from their ranks that the directors, managers and officers of their enterprises are drawn. Tom Killon, the former president of the British Wholesale, went to work at the age of nine years. He had thirty thousand people under his direction in factories, mills and warehouses when he resigned at middle age. In 1918 the business he directed amounted to $400,000,000. He received a salary of $3,500. It is interesting to note in Great Britain that while Co-operative labor get slightly higher wages than is paid in private business, yet its managers and leaders have established standards of remuneration for themselves that would be scorned by captains of industry. The manager of St. Cuthbert's Society, Edinburgh, for example, received a salary in 1900 of $1,750 a year. In the twenty-six years of his service he returned to his membership over twenty-one million dollars in savings. If he had retained and re-invested these millions in a capitalistic fashion, instead of distributing them according to the co-operative principle, he might have died a famous Scotch millionaire. Instead, his answer to a firm who urged him to work for them was as follows: "My fellow-co-operators pay me sufficient to satisfy my needs. I am happy serving the people. I should not be happy serving you at the expense of the people."

The total products of the British Co-operative factories are five times greater than those of the British Manufacturers' Association. We can get some idea of the volume of the product when we realize that in their eight flour mills, they turn out thirty-five tons of flour an hour. In the Irlam Soap works 500 tons of soap are produced each week. Four million pairs of shoes a year come from co-operative shoe factories.

In none of these centers of industry do we find goods being produced for the consumer at the expense of the worker. Way back in 1901, nearly twenty years ago, without threat of a strike the membership themselves instituted the eight-hour day. Was this not long before any such legislation was passed, aside from being enforced, even by progressive states? In the membership meetings the question of hours, wages, bonuses, standards of output, etc., are discussed at length and voted on. Co-operators as employers insist on right conditions in the industries owned by them. The spirit of these workers' organizations is definitely different from that in most enterprises run for private profit.

Numerically speaking, the Russian Co-operative Movement is the largest on the continent, although it is many years younger than the British. Since the revolution it has flourished. Now 70 percent of the population are members. Fifteen million members do an annual trade of $400,000,000.

Each European country has a story all its own that would be of interest to follow. But the beginning of the movement in the United States, especially interests us today.

For seventy-five years the European Co-operatives have been plugging steadily along, each step of the

path a step ahead even though it may have been a slow and not always a certain step. By now their members and their achievements are so sure that we here in America feel very humble when we attempt to tell of our achievements in this land of enterprise.

Nevertheless, here and there across the country we see various interesting phases of the movement.

CO-OPERATIVE STORES

Miners, railroad men and other groups of organized workers form the basis of most of the co-operative stores in the United States. A type of workers' Co-operative stores may be found among the miners in Gillespie, Illinois. Their 6th annual report shows a spare capital of $12,000 invested in dry goods, shoes, groceries and meats, and miners' tools and supplies. Two hundred and eighty-five members do an annual trade at their store of $175,000, the net profits on this business being $10,000 a year; the profits being nearly equal to the investment. Seven percent of the profits is paid back to the members in purchase dividends.

Another miners' store is at Calumet, Michigan. The Tamarack Co-operative Society has a membership of 1,700. It was organized 30 years ago and has continuously paid a yearly interest on its capital from 4 to 8 percent and saving returns to members on their purchases varying from 8 to 13 percent. Since its beginning, it has returned in interest and savings one and a half million dollars. Its business amounts to $900,000 a year.

CO-OPERATIVE MILK

Co-operative milk distribution is not nearly as general as the Co-operative store, but it may prove to be so economically effective a method of bringing the milk supply from the dairies to the babies, that mothers will soon be insisting on Co-operative dairies. In some New England factory towns there are several of these plants. Co-operators in Fitchburg, Mass., who were already running a restaurant, bank, printing plant and women's and men's furnishing store, found that the dairy farmers were killing their cattle rather than sell their milk at a loss. The Co-operators agreed to take the full product of forty milk farms paying the farmers a cent more a quart for it than they had previously received, 7¾ cents. They so economized on collecting, pasteurizing and distributing the milk that it was delivered to their 400 members within six hours at fourteen cents a quart, instead of eighteen cents, the price at which it had been sold before.

In addition to this economy the Co-operators are setting aside from the savings a fund by which they will be able to buy up one farm after another and so control, not only the distribution, but the production of milk. The profit motive in milk production is dangerous. Discontented farmers and diseased cows are a public menace. Dr. Williams, in figuring out the waste in milk distribution in Rochester, New York, and its immediate effect on quantity and service, found in 1919 that 23 farmers were covering twenty miles daily in delivering milk to 165 families, the total cost being $720,000, whereas he calculated that one distributing agency need cover only two miles with a cost of but $220,000 to the same number of families.

CO-OPERATIVE BAKERIES

The Purity Bakery in Paterson, New Jersey, was organized by the mill workers in 1906. When first started it was not run on strictly Rochdale principles. The workers were poor and bread was dear. By co-operating they sought to get more bread for less money. After selling it to themselves at six cents a loaf, if any surplus remained it was used as a strike fund or for some social purpose.

Private bakeries felt the competition keenly and did everything in their power to destroy their Co-operative rival; even to giving bread away on certain days. But the members stuck to their own bakery and it grew and grew till it was serving daily over a thousand members. When war was declared and the price of food was fixed by the Federal Food Control Board, the bakery faced a new problem. The Government ruling was that bread should be sold at ten cents a loaf. They telegraphed to Mr. Hoover to find out it they must raise the price of their bread four cents. At the same time that their complaint was received in Washington protests against the Government prices from private bakers all over the country poured in, stating that if they had to charge so low a price they would be ruined!

The reply from the Government to the Purity Co-operators was that no exception could be made in their case and so they had to solve the difficulty of having too much money on their hands. A general meeting of the members was called and they decided to revise ther constitution along Rochdale lines and return the profits to their members according to the amount of their purchases, after setting aside a good sized sum which was used to help build a new $70,000 sunny bakery lined with white tiling and installed with splendid rotary ovens which turn out thousands of loaves a day. Their annual business is $250,000 on which they save $18,000 which they return to their members.

There are thirty other Co-operative bakeries in the United States, several of which have been modelled on the Purity Bakery at Paterson.

When will all the people get together and work out for themselves the problem of daily bread as effectively as these Co-operatives have?

CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING

Next in importance to food and clothing these days is the question "where shall we live?" In Europe, while the state and municipalities are tossing back and forth to each other the responsibility for carrying out adequate housing enterprises for thousands of homeless citizens, Co-operators have set their shoulders to the task and are actually building garden cities and rows upon rows of modern apartment houses. Here in American we abuse the authorities for not doing something to relieve the housing shortage, but it is only here and there, as in Brooklyn, Kansas City and other scattered spots that people are uniting their savings in a common fund and proceeding to supply their own needs free from the predatory landlord and the impotent state.

Two sixteen-family apartment houses in Brooklyn, each costing about $45,000 to build, have been erected by the people who live in them. They are their own landlords. They raised $8,000 amongst themselves and borrowed from a Co-operative bank in Fitchburg the remaining $33,000 on mortgage. Each apartment dweller pays rent to the Association, of which he is a member, at the rate of $25 and $27.50 a month. This pays the interest on the share capital and loan and is

sufficient for repairs, up-keep and a reserve fund with which to gradually pay off the mortgage.

There is a different atmosphere in Co-operative apartments than in those lived in by the tenants who are hounded from year to year and from place to place by the greed of voracious landlords. There is a sense of contentment and security, of care and pride in their homes, that the about-to-be evicted city dweller seldom feels.

Two more similar apartments are being built next to these in Brooklyn by friendly imitators, while on the nearby corner a Co-operative Bakery with a grocery, bakeshop and meat market on the street floor and a recreation hall upstairs, has just been completed at a cost of $120,000. These will supplement the Co-operative Housing scheme.

CO-OPERATIVE LAUNDRIES

When food, shelter and clothing are all organized on a Co-operative basis, the one remaining necessity is a laundry. Much of the wear and tear on the housewife is removed when the family washing can be done in some central place. "Start a Co-operative Laundry and make the old time washday a holiday" is the watch word of a farming community around Chatfield, Minnesota. By installing up to date washing, drying and mangling machinery in a building adjacent to their Co-operative Creamery, they have been able to utilize the same steam power with an additional investment of only $2,500. When the farmers drive in with their milk they bring the wash from home. It is returned to them rough dry at a cost of five cents a pound. (I am paying 13 cents a pound for similar work because we must patronize a commercial laundry). This is by no means mere service cost. From these charges the Society pays 6 per cent interest on capital invested and 10 per cent dividends on patronage. It is a real Rochdale Laundry, not one of the temporizing cost-plus affairs that have no stability and furnish no training school for the collective administration of the people's needs.

Co-operative laundries are to be found in several other locations in the United States.

CO-OPERATIVE RECREATION

The purely materialistic side of life is not the only side which Co-operation serves. The intellectual and the social cravings of the people are provided for by the same methods and with the same motives and ideals.

Every tourist passing through Belgium is familiar with the social centers there, Les Maisons de Peuples. In the early days of Co-operation they were modest little club houses where the men gathered to read the papers, hear a song from a Comrade once in a while and sip a cup of coffee, gingerale or beer. Except for alcoholic drinks and profit, they were a substitute for the cafes. When the women and children came, music, dancing and little plays were given. Now some of the most beautiful buildings and parks are owned and used by these very Co-operators. The money invested in them usually comes from savings of the Co-operative bakeries, shops and factories managed by the working men and women. It is they who determine how the savings shall be used; the Belgians use them to cheer the hearts and gladden the days of Co-operators, not to line the pockets of the profiteers as we do in the United States. On the top floor of the Maison des Peuples, in Ghent, is the studio of Jules von Biesbroeck, the famous Finnish painter and sculptor. He is subsidized by the members of the Co-operative to create a new art which shall interpret the struggles of the labor movement. His mural decorations, marble groups and paintings are created as a response to the artistic demands of the people. He needs no "patron." In this country it is difficult to find many social and artistic expressions of the community as are typified in the Belgian Maison des Peuples. The community center movement is striving toward something in that direction, but it is created from the top and handed down. It has not yet taken root, nor has it been supported by the people, without subsidy from the benevolent.

In this country, however, social, educational and aesthetic features are being promoted by many Co-operative Associations as part of their regular activities. Many bakeries and shops have reading rooms where books, magazines and papers are arranged to attract members in their moments of leisure. Plays, concerts, dances, movies and other entertainments are planned by special committees from time to time. This part of the Co-operative movement is as important as the economic. "The test of a people's culture is how they spend their leisure." Many Co-operators in this country realize this and are bending all their efforts to develop the ideals and lessons of Co-operation through beauty, art and play, as well as through the functions of barter and trade.

In every land, wherever Co-operative Societies exist, the members are learning to work together, developing initiative, resource and technique through action, proving to the world that individual profit, that individual progress need not be the entire motive and purpose of life. They are demonstrating that people *can* organize in a free society for mutual benefit and not for private gain, through voluntary action and not through force.

The progress and development of Co-operation though not by any means complete, is still far from being a Utopian dream.

In Europe today thirty million heads of families are members of Co-operative Societies. With five to a family this means that one hundred and fifty millions of people take part (without private profit) in the trade of Europe. The membership doubled during the war, when private trade exploited the people and governments failed to meet their needs.

Cannot we attain the same goal in this country? Let us begin right now to study and train ourselves in the principles of Co-operation. When soundly equipped with the necessary knowledge let us organize and carry through some form of Co-operation. Then we may feel assured that each of us is laying a brick in a solid foundation of the new economic structure of society. The spirit by which it is reared substitutes mutual aid and unselfish service for antagonism and competition. The method by which it is brought about is as sound and tested as it is ideal and Utopian. By consecrating ourselves to this service we will be laying up treasures that cannot be lost or destroyed in any catacylsm of coming events; we will be preparing ourselves and our fellow men for effective participation in the new order when the storms are past and the Co-operative Commonwealth is ushered in.

MRS. JAMES P. WARBASSE, *Educational Sec'y, Co-op. League of America, 2 W. 13th St., New York.*

The 1920 Year Book of the Community Church of New York

No more interesting and inspiring publication has come to our attention for many a day than the 1920 Year Book of the Community Church of New York City with the reports of its three associate pastors, John Haynes Holmes, Harvey Dee Brown and John Herman Randall, and the accompanying outline of a new and modern plan for Sunday School work which we reserve for a later review.

The trials and tribulations incident to the burning of the historic church home with its hallowed and irreplaceable memories and associations seem to have served only as a new bond to draw pastor and people closer together and to spur them on in a more conscious harmony, to a more intense and consecrated effort for the success of their important task.

The problem of housing at a moment's notice two great Sunday audiences and of finding suitable quarters for an indefinite period in a great city was by no means a simple one. Yet, immediately after the fire, from many different denominations came offers of buildings and space in which to conduct the church activities—from Episcopalians and Unitarians, Jews and Presbyterians, Ethical Culturists and Bahaists, Friends and Socialists. Curiously enough, however, and yet perhaps it is not surprising, only the Ethical Culture Society and, later, a public school building, were willing to extend a welcome to the Sunday night forum audiences. An even greater difficulty was experienced in securing audience room for the Lenten vesper services, and this time it was the beautiful auditorium of the Broadway Tabernacle which Dr. Jefferson and his Trustees opened to the Community Church.

The financial problems with the sudden unusual demand for rental money were not inconsiderable. An even more severe test, it would seem to us, of the loyalty of a great body of people to an ideal was the surrendering by Mr. Holmes of a goodly portion of the Sunday morning sermons to the new associate pastor, John Herman Randall. But here again the people met the test and the figures show, despite these and other deterrent features such as the great traffic-blocking snows of last winter, an average attendance at the Sunday morning services of 872 and at the Sunday Forums, despite three changes of habitat, an average of 613, being respectively 149 and 53 greater than the average of the year before, the audiences many times reaching to 1,200 and 1,400 people. The increase in membership for the year was 280; the total subscriptions for the year increased from $13,-852 to $19,155, with an increase of subscribers from 553 to 727.

The figures do not, perhaps, truly indicate the real spirit and power behind this complete and detailed record of fine achievement which includes, beside church and forum activities, the reports of the committees on Charities, Benevolences, Hospitality and Cheerful Letters, the Post Office Mission (which distributed 19,907 copies of the Community Church sermons, an increase of 8,472 copies over last year), the Social Ethics Group, Lend-a-Hand Club, Women's Alliance, Friday Night Social Club, Robert Collyer Men's Club, Social Service League, Altrurians, and other obviously valuable and popular organizations.

The spirit which informs all these activities and adjusts and adapts them to the varying needs of the "beloved community" is found in Mr. Holmes' report from which we quote a few passages. Those of UNITY'S readers who have been familiar with the ringing "Forewords" and "Minister's Reports" of the late pastor of All Souls Church of Chicago throughout its remarkable thirty-five-year series of Annuals, will find in Mr. Holmes' report a similar fire and devotion and inspiration, a familiar grateful appreciation of the service and efficiency of those with whom he works, a well-remembered harmony and one-ness between pastor and people.

We urge our readers, especially all ministers and church workers, to secure and to study this remarkable record with its richness of suggestion, its contagious spirit of devotion and high courage and unsparing service of a great ideal, its zeal in living up to the invaluable inheritance of its past traditions, its ever constructive grasp upon the present need and its prophetic look toward the future.

> The year of 1919-1920 . . . swept us all through the whole gamut of experience from tragedy to triumph, from despair to exultation. In the beginning, it brought us woe unspeakable; but in the end it gave us "beauty for ashes, joy for sorrowing, the garment of praise for the robe of heaviness." . . .
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> We would have gotten through somehow, I suppose, in any case; but not with that keen sense of joy and mounting strength which was soon present with us all, had it not been for those vast energies of personal devotion which were discovered and released by the fire. Who that was present can ever forget that first service of All Souls, when we met together to pledge ourselves anew to the work of our beloved church? Who of us will not always remember, as one of the supreme experiences of his life, the thrill and rapture of our work together in this year of trial? When has a finer record of recovery and progress ever been written than by us in this the first year after the direst disaster in our history?

Mr. Holmes' concluding paragraph should stir many to new effort:

> Such is the story of the year just done! As I write these paragraphs I find myself wondering to how many persons they mean what they mean to me! To few, I suppose, for the story of a church can seldom mean to any layman, however interested and devoted, all that it means to a minister. For such story is the life story of a minister—in its words are his heart's blood and his soul's high dream and visioning. But am I wrong in hoping that these reports, in the case of our church, at least, mean something peculiarly precious to you, the people, in the love and care of whom they have been written? These reports are indeed the story of my life; but more truly than this they are the story of *our* life—the life of minister and people joined in a sacred comradeship of work and worship. What we are, we are together. We are members of "the one body"; if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; if one member rejoice, all the members rejoice with it. Ours, in other words, is the common life. We are a community of interest and toil and affection; and in this community we find the comfort of our present days, and the prophet of better and fairer days yet to dawn upon the earth. Yea, in this community, this fellowship of souls, we find the God in whom we live and move and have our being.
>
> "Creator and created, God shall be
> Born forevermore—of you and me."
>
> SUSAN QUACKENBUSH.

Our work . . . is to help to educate the people by every and any means that may be effective; and the knowledge we have to help them to is three-fold—to know their own, to know how to take their own and to know how to use their own.—*William Morris.*

Choose the best life, and habit by and by will make you like it the best.—*Epictetus.*

THE STUDY TABLE

Books About the Orient

LETTERS FROM CHINA AND JAPAN. John Dewey and Alice Chipman Dewey. New York: 1920. E. P. Dutton & Co. 16mo. pp. vi. 311.

Even in a book of "letters from China and Japan" we have a right to expect something worth while, if the authors are people of standing. Great then is our disappointment in this book by Prof. and Mrs. Dewey. It has no value and gives no light. In China Prof. Dewey has become deeply interested in the political situation; he has written some useful articles for American periodicals; it is to be expected that on his return he will have something of permanent value to offer. But in these letters there is nothing. Neither the description of incidents, of persons, or of places, is worth while. The first half of the book is given to Japan. The one thing it clearly shows is that neither Prof. nor Mrs. Dewey knew anything about Japan or the Japanese, or about what they should look for or what they would find. After a first feeling of strangeness, they came to an attitude of some admiration and wonder at things Japanese. The second half of the book deals with China and the best it contains is here. In China light suddenly dawned; Japan is now fully understood in all her hideous deviltry; the revulsion of feeling appears almost immediate; Millard's review appears; sympathy for China is born and grows apace. We have not the slightest objection to Millard's Review, nor to admiration for Chinese, nor to sympathy with China's efforts to find herself. But we are astonished that our travelers ever undertook their journey to the Orient, with their complete and naive ignorance of it, its soul, its history, its problems. It is never too late to learn and the Orient needs first-hand study. It is possible that other Japanese words occur in the letters, but the only ones we remember are *kimono, kakemono, makemono* and *tokonoma.* These words are so common that they occur repeatedly in every guide book and every travel book on Japan; Mrs. Dewey must have seen, heard and spoken them all—yet all are mis-spelled. This is typical of the informational uselessness of the book. The Professor's "abalone on the half-shell" and Mrs. Dewey's " . . . tiniest of green peppers" . . . "three of them about as big as a hair pin" arouse our curiosity rather than give us information. The sudden flop from admiration of Japan to an attitude of indiscriminate criticism warrants our suggestion of naive original ignorance. If we seem bitter in criticism it is because the book is a bitter disappointment. It is only fair to say that the letters seem to have been published without consultation with the writers and that they "were written to their children in America, without thought of their ever appearing in print."

THE REBIRTH OF KOREA. Heung-wo Cynn. New York: 1920. The Abingdon Press. 16mo. pp. 272.

The last three years in Korea give ground for thought. The passive resistance movement was interesting in itself and in its results. The story is here given us by a Korean. The matter is presented in three parts—rebirth, causes, conclusions. Your reviewer looks upon this demonstration as a calamity. It came at a moment when the world was being fed with lies, deceived by false hopes, misled by hypocritical phrases. Many believed that a new day was dawning, that democracy was gaining ground, that "self-determination" was about to be realized. The falsity of all this is now so generally recognized that it needs no emphasis. But these catch-words underlie all of Mr. Cynn's book. He still dreams of non-militarism, of democracy, of self-determination; he still feels that the rebirth has somehow been achieved; he still looks for a miracle to be wrought in Korea's favor. In appendices making up about one-third of his book he presents various documents. Three of these are missionary utterances and are fully in place in this book, which has a distinctly religious tone. (Mr. Cynn is himself a Christian and the book is put out by a church publishing house.) The other ten documents are taken from Henry Chung's book and are political. Their reprinting here adds nothing to Cynn's argument, is a disadvantage to Chung's book and is hardly fair to buyers who do not care to have the same matter in different books. Were we criticising this book—which we are not—we would be tempted to examine the second appendix—A STATEMENT OF MISSIONARY POSITION ON KOREAN AGITATION. It is a strange document, which tempts a reviewer.

HAVE WE A FAR EASTERN POLICY? Charles H. Sherrill. New York: 1920. 16mo. pp. xvi 307.

Here is a book by "a diplomatist and an author," a tourist, a "general," a judge of stained glass, a Presbyterian—and as such a member of a "foreign missions committee"—a Yale alumnus, and no doubt many other things. Long a traveler in Europe, he has now made an Oriental trip. He found much to delight him, but also much to make him thoughtful, in Japan, Korea, China and the Philippine Islands. He really has a somewhat open mind and saw that the white peril is more real and threatening than the yellow peril. He was charmed with much that he saw in Japan and he emphasizes the fact that in judging her we must somehow place ourselves in her position and get her point of view. He sees good even in Buddhism and Shinto and does not seem to feel that all Japanese are damned because non-Christian. Apropos of Korea, he says: "After reading a number of the attacks upon Japan's behavior in Korea, alleged or actuated by American missionaries in that field, I happened upon some incidents and facts which aroused my suspicions, so I went to Seoul, and investigated upon the ground." It is hardly fair to quote an author upon so delicate a subject, except at length—which we cannot do. We can only give the following extract, which seems to give his matured views. "Missionary methods that are subversive of foreign governmental systems are un-Christian and need changing—and so do the missionaries." While Gen. Sherrill is friendly in attitude and anxious to give the Japanese point of view, he realizes that Japan faces serious dangers and warns her to be good and careful to walk a straight line if she wishes to avoid trouble. While not so serious a study as the title would suggest, the book is interesting, provocative of thought and filled with ideas which are the result of real weighing of problems.

FREDERICK STARR.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

DEBS A BENEFICENT INFLUENCE IN PRISON, BUT STILL A REVOLUTIONIST.

Convict 9653, otherwise Eugene V. Debs, and likewise the Socialist candidate for President, has made Atlanta federal prison a different place since he became an inmate there a little over sixteen months ago. This is the verdict of Father Byrne, who acts as spiritual adviser to the Catholic prisoners. Though he is still said to be the Debs of 1894—the Debs of Revolution and Bolshevism—the Socialist candidate is an influence for good in Atlanta, according to the priest. It does not appear that the radical leader has done anything particularly spectacular during his stay in prison, however. He works in the prison hospital, and, among other things, it is said that in some way he always manages to cheer up the patients. Also, he has caused several "bad" men to become "good," and in general seems to have been able to bring about an improvement in the moral atmosphere of the institution. How has he done it? Well, some little investigation along this line was made recently by Charles W. Woods, who was permitted by the Department of Justice to interview Debs for the New York *World* and to talk about him to the warden. Bearing in mind the remark frequently made that the one dramatic feature of the present political campaign was the nomination by a minority party of this prison candidate, Mr. Woods made an attempt to find out if there had been anything dramatic about Mr. Debs' doings since the latter became a prisoner. But though he did his best, the newspaper man couldn't discover that Debs had done a single dramatic thing. "All that he had done, so far as I could discover, was to find the most unlovable wrecks he could—and love them," we are told. An illustration of Mr. Debs' "loving" tactics was furnished by Attorney Samuel Castleton, who looks out for the interests of all the political prisoners in Atlanta. He related the following, as the *World* man tells it:

Sam Orr, Mr. Castleton told me, is a negro "lifer." He committed some crime in his teens and was sent to the penitentiary. He had a fight with a guard, in which the guard was killed, and Sam was given a life term for murder. He is now approaching middle age, and the years since then have been filled with all the tortures known to old-time prison "discipline." He has spent months at a time in dungeons on a bread-and-water diet, where the rats ran over his body and his only "human" company was some mocking prison guard. He has been hung up by the wrists, he has been chained and flogged. He has even been deprived of water, and then, in the agony of thirst, had vessels of the life-giving liquid placed just beyond his reach. For Sam has always been accounted a "bad" man, and his jailers know no other theory than that of punishment.

Needless to say, Sam did not get right with God or with any faction of mankind. Being a negro, too, his lot was particularly hard in Georgia. But Gene Debs found Sam, Attorney Castleton told me, and Sam today is an exemplary prisoner.

"What did he do to him?" I asked. I was after that elusive dramatic element.

"Nothing in particular," said the lawyer. "Just loved him and made him realize it. Today I am trying to get Sam paroled, and I am perfectly willing to accept personal responsibility for him for the rest of his life."

The method by which he wrought a change in Sam Orr seems to have been elucidated by Mr. Debs in his reply to Mr. Woods' question as to what had been his greatest experience since he was sent to prison. This reply did not confine itself to a single experience, but dealt with the cumulative experience of sixteen months, and set out briefly what apparently are the ideas underlying the prisoner-candidate's philosophy. We read:

"I have discovered that love is omnipotent. All the forces of earth cannot prevail against it. Hatred, war, cruelty, greed and lust must all give away before it. It will overthrow all tyrannies. It will empty all prisons. It will not only emancipate the human race eventually, but to a great extent it lifts us individually above the struggle while we are in the thick of the fight for human brotherhood.

"I know now (it is no credit to me, but it is an experience worth while) that I do not hate a single person. I would not punish a single person. I would not kill another man—even in self-defense."

"You are opposed to all violence?" I asked.

"Yes," he said. "But do not gather from that that I would hesitate to take part in any movement for the emancipation of humanity because there was violence in connection with it.

"I am heart and soul with the Russian revolution. Yet it is violent. There is not so much bloodshed, to be sure, in Russia as there was in the years immediately preceding the revolution, but there is still so much that it makes my heart ache to think of it. As a student of history, however, I know that these great movements for human emancipation do not come without bloodshed; and although I would not kill a man in self-defense, I am in favor of shedding as much blood as is absolutely necessary in order to emancipate the people. But not one drop more. Moreover, if bloodshed is necessary, I want my own blood to be shed first. I shall not follow the course of some of America's superpatriots, who insisted on others going into battle while they stayed home and piled up profits.

"In America," Debs added, "I believe we may have a perfectly peaceful revolution. The Socialist party has always stood for that. No one can point to one word of mine which has advocated anything else. I would have the workers of the United States assemble peacefully, in their unions and at the ballot box, and peaceably take the industrial mechanism of America into their own hands. They might then run it for use and not for profit. And, eliminating the frightful waste of competition, they might reconstruct that mechanism so that each worker would find creative expression in his employment, instead of being tied to the machine in the deadly drudgery of today. This whole transformation, however, should be accomplished peaceably, and there is only one reason why it may not be.

"That, of course, is in the event that the present owners of the industrial mechanism might fight to retain the privileges of ownership. If they would insist on violence in behalf of their profits, those who had the common good at stake would be forced to use force in return. While force under such circumstances is necessary, as it has been in Russia, the true revolutionist must never let himself become blinded in its use. We are fighting for freedom, not revenge."

"But you held these views before you came to prison, did you not?" I asked. "I wanted particularly to get your big experience since."

"This was my accepted philosophy before," he said. "But it is now incorporated into my llfe as it never could have been before. One never does really know his own soul until the world in which he functions is suddenly taken away. My world was suddenly taken away from me. Every activity was stopped. Up to that minute people had been running after me with things to do, and I had become so absorbed in doing them that I never had time to reflect upon my own spiritual life.

"Then I was put into this cemetery of the sentient—this place where society buries its living and proceeds at once to forget them. Nobody knows what happens in prison, and nobody cares. Nobody can know, except the prisoner. The Warden doesn't know. The guards do not know. Prison investigators do not know. They can see only the iron bars and the physical restrictions. They can not feel the spiritual prison which is clapped down upon the prisoner's soul.

"I saw it now and I felt it. And I suddenly realized that the body they had captured was just about worn out. I have always had a very erratic heart—one of the kind that would carry me through a hard campaign and then leave me almost down and out. This time I had been hunted and hounded for two years, and I seemed to have overdrawn my account on life. For months my heart palpitated uncertainly and I swayed between life and death.

"Not in one single experience, remember, but gradually and cumulatively, I then began to realize that even that didn't matter. I don't feel that I am expressing it very well, for these experiences can not be put into words.

"It is this: Life isn't a thing of years, it is an expression of all that's in you wherever you happen to be. I was in prison. Well, there must be something a man can do in prison that he couldn't do anywhere else. I have tried in my own way to find out what it was. I believe with all my heart today that I was sent here in accordance with a great Purpose.

"Naturally, there was only one thing to do. If you are going to be of use to any one, you must find some one who needs you; and so I have made it a point to look for those who needed some one most."

Mr. Woods says he hopes he does not make Debs appear in the light of a pious

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martyr. He tells us there was no suggestion of resignation to the mere inevitable about the candidate. He looks fine, we are told, with no mark of weakening about him or of the quenching of the fire of revolt which has blazed so long. In fact, Woods says, he saw in Debs the most untamed revolutionist he had ever met. The interview continues:

"There is only one thing in life that matters," he said to me. "That is service to our fellow men. If Socialism were merely a scheme to make everybody rich, it wouldn't appeal to me at all. I have known many rich men and I wouldn't change places with them for anything. I wouldn't give one ounce of my energy to turn the United States into a nation of Rockefellers. To me Socialism is not a scheme to make everybody rich, but an opportunity to make everybody function. It is the organization of our industrial affairs in such a way that no one will have to work for wages or for profits, and each individual will be set free to serve.

"I have given my life to the abolition of poverty; but poverty in itself is not so bad as the conditions which it causes. Poverty would not be so bad if everybody were poor, if the social order were such that all of us were compelled to share the common fate and none of us could get ahead except through helping everybody get ahead. Then we might co-operate freely and attain the spiritual riches of co-operation. Under the capitalist arrangement the only way to get ahead is to get ahead of the other fellow. Such a system necessarily breeds hatred, and war, and spiritual ruin."

In all the newspaper man's conversation with the Socialist candidate, the latter did not once mention an issue of the campaign—that is, this campaign as distinguished from any other. He spoke often of the "struggling workers," but their struggles, to his mind, were not confined to any particular time or place. He also referred to the events that had sent him to prison and of his life at present. He said:

"There was a war, a war between this country and another. I did not believe in that war and I would not support it. To any war that I do believe in I shall give my life, but for any that I do not I shall not contribute a single Thrift Stamp. Had I been willing to buy Liberty bonds and help raise the money to send some one else to this war, I might have retained my physical liberty. But my sould would have entered prison, and I am happy that I made no such choice.

"Of course, I was a mark. Well-meaning, patriotic ladies would stop me on the street and tell me that they had come all the way from Chicago or somewhere to sell me a Thrift Stamp. When I explained that I couldn't buy one they demanded to know my reasons; and when I made my reasons plain I landed here.

"But do not imagine for a moment that I am unhappy. These are wonderful days. This is the dawn of world-emancipation. The light which is breaking in the East will soon be flooding all America, and the great soul of humanity, which has struggled upward through the centuries against bigotry and cruelty and greed will soon understand the meaning of that struggle and achieve the more abundant life."

From the "Literary Digest."

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